/388 cont./

342 593 855 and finish, but is smaller. This separate hut for the children is usually built because of lack of space in the large hut, and it is always regarded as a necesary expedient, for parents do not like to be separated from their children unless it is absolutely necessary. Although the children stay by themselves several hours of the day and all night, they nevertheless like to be with their family a great deal, and they always have access to the large hut. An older woman takes charge of the small company and sometimes brings them a little food, but more often the children get their food from their own parents.

In exceptional cases, for instance, the illness of an older person, imminent confinement of the mother, and so forth, even the single family builds a separate hut for the children beside the one for the adults, much as they dislike to do so. This children's hut is an expedient, and the parents by no means decide on it because they do not wish to be disturbed by crying and noise, for Indian children as such are gentle and quiet.

342 857 Finally, if several families camp a few days in the same spot, the children as a game build a little hut with their own hands beside the dwellings of their parents. After all, they must occasionally give vent to their energies. The understanding parents willingly support them in this, sometimes bringing the children meat and approvingly watching the happy gathering. This children's hut is called ẽkẽli. /389/ It is obvious and understandable that it cannot be an actual dwelling, but serves merely for the enjoyment and playful occupation of the little band (44).

44. This unequivocal appraisal of the so-called children's hut is absent in what Hyades (q):342 and Bridges (a) :183 write about it. The latter is more ambignous than the former.

342 511 If one stands in front of an Indian hut as a European judge, no matter which type of hut it is, one involuntarily asks himself: What protection does this poor makeshift afford? By nature our natives are extremely undemanding. If one would like definite proof of this, he need only observe them in their dwelling. If they have a little protection from the heaviest rainfall and the densest snowstorm, against the bitterest cold and the most

/395 cont./
372 505 They have loaded up with firewood before their departure and piled it near the fire. Here it dries a bit and /396/ is conveniently at hand when needed (58). The children feed the fire according to

[85]

58. For a longer trip they provide themselves amply with firewood and stack it, as Hyades (Q) :304 has observed, at one of the two ends of the boat.

their parents' instructions.

When possible, they take only very dry wood in their canoe, since the unpleasant smoke from wet wood could scarcely be avoided. When they leave their craft upon landing, the children [85] carry the glowing sticks of wood to shore and place them on the spot which is to be the center of their new hut. Here they soon rekindle a larger fire. The Indians are scrupulously conscientious

[412]

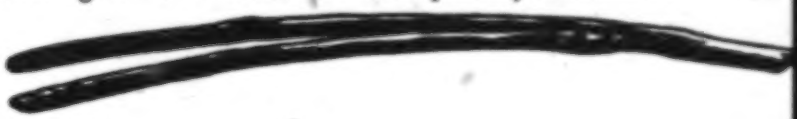

Fig. 14. Fire Tongs.

about extinguishing all glowing embers of the canoe fire by dousing them with water. If they continue their journey the next day, the children once more carry the glowing sticks of wood to the canoe and light a new fire in it.

372 Whenever a family leaves their fire, either in the canoe or in the dwelling, they take care to put out even the last glimmering bit. The fire could easily come alive again, /Fig. 14 appears here/ spread, and cause serious destruction. The glowing embers are scattered, pounded and beaten with a cudgel, covered with gravel or sand, and finally doused liberally with snow or water. This removes all danger.

372 To arrange the fire and distribute the glowing pieces of
412 wood, the Indians reach for any stick that happens to be handy. They like to use regular fire tongs which no family is without. Here they are known as lá'ka (Fig. 14), also lá'kka according to BD: 278, and correspond exactly to the lá'ka of the Selk'nam

/398 cont./

372 (Vol. I, 295). They choose a straight stick, as thick as one's
412 thumb, of Berberis ilicifolia, strip it of leaves, twigs, and cracked parts of bark, smooth the surface, and split it two-thirds of its entire length which is hardly more than 65 centimeters. Afterwards the lower, split end is cut off flat. Since the tension of the wood fibers keeps the two ends spread slightly apart, these fire tongs can be easily manipulated simply with pressure (59).

[177]

59. Hyades (q):304 and Lothrop (b):130 have also described this implement briefly. The similarity in terminology between the Selk'nam and Yamana causes Lothrop to speak of a "cultural borrowing," which should not be dismissed.

137 The natives have the advantage, which they truly appreci-
313 ate, of some growth of trees throughout their homeland, even on the dreaded Cape Horn. It is lacking only on the low rocks and smooth stones that /397/ are exposed to waves and storms without any kind of protection. Wherever shallow crevices or protected ravines cut into the rocks, frail shrubs and thicker small trees cling, successfully resisting storms. The Indian finds his needed
313 fuel at every landing place, so to speak, although at some places he obtains it more easily. He prefers dry beechwood for his fire, for he dreads the damaging smoke of green logs (60). He finds it

60. Persistent watering of the eyes and slight inflammation of the eyelids are the consequences of the stinging smoke. See Hyades (q):346 and Lothrop (b):129, as well as footnote 56.

as driftwood that has been washed ashore by the waves. He also goes a few steps into the woods and breaks off dry branches with his hands. If they are higher up, he tosses the noose of his lasso around them, tugs vigorously, for beechwood is very tough, and pulls them down. He fells hollow tree trunks with the weight of his body and then splits them. As soon as a family lands, the
• [57] children disperse throughout the neighborhood and gather wood which they bring to the campsite.

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442

/423 cont./
describe, but does speak of "a piece of the upper jaw from a dolphin or porpoise, with teeth" /translated from French/.

[237] As a makeshift when the two objects mentioned above are not available, they gather a bunch of bird feathers and tie them together at the bottom with a fiber of tendon. The bunch of feathers is grasped with the fist, and the quills are drawn through the hair, like the teeth of a comb (102). Girls like to

• [237]

102. According to Fitz-Roy's terse words (a) :139, the hair grooming of the Indian women is confined to the following: "The hair of the women is longer, less coarse, and certainly cleaner than that of the men. It is combed with the jaw of a porpoise, but neither plaited nor tied; and none is cut away, excepting from over their eyes" /cited in English/.

make this thinku uhtuhm as playful dawdling, and conveniently loosen their hair with it.

56 Little though the Yamana heed a clean body, they nevertheless appreciate a clean person who washes often and keeps his hair combed. Many mothers care for their children; others appear disgustingly dirty and completely neglected. Such differences are not infrequently a topic of conversation among the old people who criticize in one case and praise in the other. At any rate it shows that a natural feeling for cleanliness is not entirely lacking. In spite of the many useful things that Europeans have brought them, they will never rise above a certain level of uncleanliness because they are inseparably bound to their conditions of life. The European clothing which everybody wears nowadays is likewise covered with dirt and fish oil. Because of it fresh air and beneficial rain can no longer act directly on the skin, hence their bodies are always covered with a thick, malodorous crust of dirt. Thus, the abandonment of their former sparse body covering is slowly but badly undermining the vitality and health of these Indians, who are themselves aware of it.

[17]

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/541 cont./
observes them and unconsciously compares them with the women of our coasts going fishing at low tide: the same grave silence, the same busyness, and from a distance the same silhouettes"
/translated from French/.

At almost every ebb tide the women comb the wide surfaces laid bare by the receding sea. On a slightly sloping shore these are sometimes ten or more meters (267). Here there are only

267. Fortunately, the strip of earth along the shore which is laid bare at low tide is easily pervious and soon becomes hard. Hyades (f):553 specially refers to this.

medium-sized and small mussels, but they are easy to gather. They are sometimes loosened with a short, strong stick or with the above-mentioned mussel-breaker, wasinte. It is just as easy to break them off with one's bare hand, since the clinging filaments of the live animals are weak.

226 Assuming that low tide sets in during the day, one woman 46] will make a date with another, and immediately others will join them. Each of them brings along her baby clinging to her back, 69 and little girls run ahead, each with her own little basket. Some- 51] times a boy or two will run along out of curiosity and their pleasure, and they will watch for a while, but it would never occur to them to help because that is not their work. These women are only short /542/ distances apart. Walking slowly, they go from one spot to another, for the entire ocean floor is usually densely strewn with mussels. They seldom exchange a few words, and they keep their bent position unchanged. Sometimes they also squat down, without touching the damp earth, since the mussels can be easily grasped from any position. They stop working only when their little baskets are full. The women sometimes also set out late in the evening and in the early morning if the tide is particularly low. In winter they take along a glowing stick of wood and a few dry sticks in order to fan up a fire near the place where they are gathering. They return to it for a few minutes to warm their stiff

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/134 cont./

is almost mute, until, at about a year and a half, he suddenly pronounces complete words. The young Fuegians do not carry on constant babbling monologues, as do European babies almost without exception. A few weeks before they venture to come out with full speech, however, they apparently do some silent speech exercises. They move their lips and tongues and show by their expressions that they are thinking and mentally active. The parents observe this inward activity with satisfaction. The children's earliest speech is somewhat awkward, but it is very much like the speech of adults. The latter almost never make any effort to help or correct the child. He is left to himself, no matter how much difficulty he has or how incorrectly he speaks. Later he corrects his own mistakes by listening and comparing. Similarly in subsequent years no adult ever teaches the child to speak clearly and correctly.

When the child enters his third year, there is usually a younger brother or sister to whom the mother gives her full attention. After that he is left even more to his own devices. Then he begins to seek the company of his older brothers and sisters and of other children, but keeps as much as possible to those of his own age. The play instinct brings these little ones together. They are well content by themselves. Sometimes they squat in a circle for hours, scratching the ground with their fingers, or they grub in the gravel or roll back and /135/ forth on the grass. In these early years they do not play any real games, but they look at everything with attentive eyes and probingly feel everything that seems strange to them. They do not whisper to each other about their experiences, nor do they talk together animatedly. Everywhere, even when they are with other children, they give the stranger the impression that they are thoughtful, patient observers, an attitude which every European would attribute to older children.

The parents enjoy daily observation of the small body which visibly unfolds. Supposedly in order to accelerate growth, they resort to a magical custom known as mingo, which means roughly "to stretch upward." Either the father or someone else calls the child, makes him stretch up both arms, embraces him, and lifts him high enough so that their two faces are almost on top of each other. Then the child must squeeze down out of this embrace, and he wriggles his head through, with his face turned upward, he

/740 cont./

864 not entirely to be trusted, the parents inconspicuously keep him busy and by their side when temptation is particularly great in a common campsite. As a rule, the Fuegians who are not yet somewhat degenerate themselves have a sharp eye and sound judgment for impending infractions and for the weaknesses of their children.

The children do not have much chance to evade the watchfulness of their parents as long as the family is traveling by itself. If several families are temporarily together in the same place, the eyes of all the adults are on the young people, and especially on the child whose conduct justifies suspicion. Since even little Fuegians are by no means angels, and in many a boy the urge toward improper conduct is stronger than the threats by the adults, he will try to meet a girl in some secret place. If his deed is uncovered, his parents seriously reprimand him and do not withhold a severe beating in order to bring the little culprit to his senses. An adult would not beat a strange child, but will complain to the child's parents.

The Yamana are much too sensible to keep children of the opposite sex apart because of exaggerated anxiety. No one prevents children from being together in public and in the open, but they do keep them from slipping away secretly and purposely avoiding any kind of observation.

864 /741/ When the boys are by themselves, they romp about
857 to their heart's content and sometimes behave rather offensively, which they would never dare to do in the presence of adults. They feel the greatest desire for this when they can take off their clothes on warm days and go completely naked. Playfully they smack each other on the buttocks and pass their hands lightly over the genitals, or they squirt water on these parts and point to them with their fingers. In all this they certainly do not go any further than schoolboys in Europe who are unsupervised. Boys usually frolic about in a very lively manner, without, however, shouting or making a lot of noise. No one prevents them from giving vent to their energy, as long as they are not nasty and obscene.

857 It is different where girls are playing among themselves; it is always quiet and calm. The very way in which they

/741 cont./

857 entertain themselves excludes noise and uproar. They also have less opportunity to play together, because mothers have them care for younger brothers and sisters, and they also know better than boys how to entertain themselves. With their own kind girls talk remarkably little, but they observe their companions all the more and silently compete with each other in their pursuits.

864 Children are probably encouraged to stay aloof from the opposite sex by the conduct of adults. The latter unquestionably behave perfectly in front of children and in conversation and conduct consciously avoid everything that might give offense.

2. Application of Training

961 In spite of all the love that parents have for their children, there is no room for pampering and indulging them. Even the newborn infant feels the rigors of existence, and later on the child is never aware of all the careful arrangements and comforts that are practically taken for granted in a European nursery. The Yamaná are simply destined to live in an unfriendly environment with remorseless demands for daily existence; they have no illusions about it and do not prejudice their children against the reality in which they are placed and which they will have to combat for the rest of their lives.

Instead of idly looking on and letting growth take its unhampered course, they intercede as teachers in the development of their children's spiritual life, directing their mental powers toward a specific goal and tirelessly exerting their influence in that direction. They are guided by sound principles, and gratifying results crown their efforts. I have often regretted that I was unable to investigate more closely by means of personal observation how these Fuegian teachers achieved the results that I discovered with admiration in a few aged representatives of the original Indian race. They are a living embodiment /741/ of child-rearing principles and parental efforts on behalf of young people who are to move forward along the same paths trodden by many generations before them. This training has secured the orderly perpetuation of the entire tribe throughout the centuries and is adequately protecting it even up to the present time.

/750 cont./

are given definite instruction by parents and adults: "Parents universally take no pains in the education of their children, and give them no instruction in the arts of native life, save it may be a little instruction in swimming and basket-making by mothers to their daughters; yet I believe that even for this they are generally as much indebted to others as to their mothers. The children learn to speak, to use the spear, sling and arrow, to make these and other implements and vessels as best they can" /cited in English/ (Mbk. IX, 214.1870).

The girls are given all kinds of chores by their mother. They must tend their smaller brothers and sisters, roast meat for them, keep the fire going and bring wood, put the roofing of the hut in order and see that the smoke draws off quickly, prepare pieces of leather and sew them together, and take part in gathering mussels and in servicing the canoe. This more or less amounts to a full day's work for a woman. The girl is brought up to do these things almost playfully and becomes so familiar with all of them that after a certain age the can in part replace her mother.

/751/ Any one of the girls or boys who acts clumsily and awkwardly, who out of stubbornness or resistance will not be pressed into service, is disciplined by his elders with steadfast patience, but also with tireless tenacity, until he has attained an adequate degree of proficiency and skill. Again and again the little sluggard is taken to task by his own parents and by other people and all the adults help to prepare every child to be independent in his later life. The small services that a child is obliged to perform for his parents form the practical part of his education, with which the actual instruction is interwoven (187).

187. Bridges (1):22 pointed to this very briefly: "The children's help was required in all the duties of native life" /cited in English/. Hyades (2):38 and (3):367 mentions

/709 cont./

get up one by one at midnight. The old tamarow led on end of the Great Hut, pointed to certain men, and commanded their names. She also showed us the Tahlow family, saying: "The elder Tahlow is the husband of every girl who has become /710/ he causes the bleeding when every month [-cycle]!" The elder impressed upon us: "Keep all this to yourselves, for this is a secret for girls and they should not speak about it with boys!"

The women actually do avoid speaking about their monthly bleeding, while. It finally becomes so taken for granted that they probably seldom think of Tahlow in connection with it. I did not find out whether they specify a particular reason for the creation of the menses in the change of life. they are indifferent toward it.

4. Children's Play

The happy disposition of our Forgians is shown in entertaining games. Whenever there are many people gathered together and the weather is favorable, they greatly enjoy playing together for hours. Children soon show a great love of play, and when several get together, they, too, immediately begin to entertain themselves in their modest way.

Both boys and girls amuse themselves, each in their own way, and the demands on the sexes are already in force here. In play no less than in other things the separation of the sexes is supposed to be observed; this is gladly overlooked, however, when so-called social games are played, in which adults, too, often take part. There are no special playthings for older children. Instead, for their childish entertainment they very often imitate grownups at work. Although the social games mentioned above are not confined to children alone, they are the ones who most frequently play them; hence we shall describe them here.

Despite the unrestricted merriment and wholesome liveliness that all children show in their play, this flock of little ones is relatively silent and quiet. True, they are not /711/ mute, but there is no wild noise and ceaseless yelling, and no one would dare shout at the top of his lungs or cry just to show off. This behavior fits very well with the quiet and hushed manner of behavior (p.139) and adults.

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/780 words/

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What we emphasized in the beginning cannot be stressed too clearly, namely, that every child has a strong impulse to play as soon as he is with contemporaries. The individual family is sometimes thrown on its own resources for days, and the monotony of the canoe trips during which the children must spend almost continuous by the fire often an stimulation worth mentioning. In the end even a group of lively heathen and clever kid into a bored, depressed mood if they are together heavy day. When strange children meet, however, they get together in no time and in their play develop a liveliness of which one would not have thought them capable. It is as though they had to be brought together from a distance to awaken their strong play instinct which had lately been lulled to sleep by an unchanging environment. Even children who have never seen each other or who have been separated for years meet with a complete lack of self-consciousness and get along together so well that they hate to part when their parents are obliged to travel on in different directions.

C. Boys' Play

Only those European visitors who feel warmly toward many children and who themselves enjoy their play are in a position to win the confidence of the little Fuegians. A person observing them closely will realize that they are bright creatures, although they are not nearly as lively as the Inlet Yaan boys (Vol. I, 328). We cannot overlook the fact that they must spend hours in the canoe. No wonder they are relieved as soon as they climb out on land. Then they romp about happily and feel free of all restrictions. They run and jump with exuberance, as though they wanted to expend quickly their accumulated surplus vitality. They know that their freedom of movement will end abruptly, perhaps even the next morning, so they thoroughly exhaust themselves walking and running, climbing and tumbling about. Nothing stops them. They must sometimes lend a hand to launch the canoe and to erect the hut, but often not even then. Then they are left entirely to themselves, and the parents hardly glance at them when they rove about on the edge of the forest, on the beach, or between the rocks.

/760 cont./

857 In true boy-fashion they inquisitively stick their noses into everything; every unusual phenomenon arouses their attention. They swarm from one spot to another and never tire of testing themselves in all kinds of feats of strength. They like best to go away from /761/ the huts, to be safe from any interruption by calls and threats of elders. Then they hunt for birds' nests and tease the fledglings, to the chagrin of the pair of feathered parents. They knock over rotted tree trunks and shout with glee if they expose and scatter a whole swarm of capricorn beetles or fat larvae. If particularly good Cyttaria fungi should entice them, they will also climb trees, otherwise not. At low tide they tumble about on the wet beach and stamp their feet down hard in puddles so that the water squirts up high on both sides. They try to catch with their hands the little fish left in shallow puddles and with short sticks dig in the sand for the razor-shell clams (Solen) when the latter squirt out a few drops of water. Tirelessly they scour the coasts and rocks; everywhere something rivets their attention and they come across novelties that provide fun for them.

I often roved about in the company of these lively youngsters. With their extraordinarily keen eyes they discovered all kinds of insignificant things and devoted themselves to them with bustling liveliness. I realized how thoroughly these children learn from their earliest youth to train their senses, especially their eyes, and to use them well.

857 147 Furthermore, it is surprising to note that these boys are never squeamish and whining, but courageous and reckless. Stark naked they trample about in the snow or in cold sea water, roll around on gravelly soil, run barefoot over rough stones on the beach, and march through thickets of thorny bushes. Afterwards they examine their many scratches and rub spittle on larger wounds, but they pay no attention to their aches and pains. When they wrestle, they hit hard and audaciously, scratch each other mercilessly, and fight until the opponent is exhausted to the point of offering no further resistance. I never saw a weaker one avoid a stronger one; sometimes a weakling even attacked a strong one and defended himself bravely.

524 868 - There are no special playthings for boys. An adult, usually the father, gives them imitations of the weapons and tools that the

/761 cont./

men use on their hunts. In order to be able to handle them sell, the children are taught from early childhood and must constantly practice. These articles are, of course, easily damaged or they are lost, but the adults never tire of making replacements, and the more the boy grows, the larger his implements become. One most often sees the Fuegian boy hurling the sling. It seems to be a part of him, and, following the example of the men, he wears it like a necklace around his throat where it is always and immediately handy. He likes best to aim at birds, but teasingly he will also send a stone to the ground close beside some other child. In childish innocence he will hurl /762/ stones in all directions and is sometimes so naïve about it that he must be chased away again and again from the vicinity of the huts.

Practice with short spears which adults demand of the boys seems to be less convenient and also more difficult. One of the men will call them to follow him. The target will be an old basket or, more often, the root, tanuwúlux, of the large brown alga (Macrocystis pyrifera), hǎ́yus. The boys are lined up not far from the target and must demonstrate their aim. They are praised or scolded according to their accomplishments. No less frequent are the archery contests with bow and arrow. It is part of the father's duty in training his sons to acquaint them early with the use of weapons. It is a vital necessity that they know how to handle them, and therefore this kind of practice is demanded of them when they are still boys (195), repeated in the youth initiation,

> 195. As Bridges (a):183 has reliably observed: "little boys early become skilful in throwing spears and stones, slinging, and making spears, etc." /cited in English/.

and continued even after that. The Yamana do not give their children a finished weapon with the bone point, which is too valuable. Straight poles pointed at one end or useless harpoon shafts serve just as well. They entrust larger boys with snares and praise their success.

Such imitations of weapons can hardly be regarded as playthings. The Fuegians do not primarily intend them to be, but

/762 cont./
857 regard them as a means of helping boys to prepare properly for
868 their later duties in connection with food-getting (196).

196. Bridges (i):22 and (h):208 also emphasizes this purpose: "They early, for pastime, prepared themselves for their future life; spending their time, if boys, in practising throwing or slinging stones, in spearing or shooting arrows at a mark, or in attempting to make the various articles of native property" /cited in English/.

541 There is a kind of very modest fireworks, šẽ́lakina (šẽ́la, sim-
857 ple, plain," kína, "flame up, burn": "little fire, play of sparks"), which is not so much play as simply entertainment. Not only the boys who put it on, but all the occupants of the camp enjoy it. They take the very soft, light interior wood of a beech trunk that has been altered by fungus formations and use it in small pieces about as long as a finger. It begins to glow surprisingly quickly, and when it is hurled into the air it glows even stronger. Each little piece of wood describes an arc as it ascends and falls to the ground. If it has not been entirely burned up, they pick it up and throw it again. Several boys together repeatedly do the throwing, and they must be very nimble. It is a delight to see the little, glowing pieces rise and fall in large numbers, like bright points in the dark night. It is only when several families are together and in a happy mood, that is, for a wedding, for the tú·ikipa /763/ tátu, for the conclusion of the číexaus, or beside a stranded whale, that a larger group will sometimes on a quiet night enjoy themselves for some time with this šẽ́lakina (197).

197. Without doubt Despard was referring to this on July 29, 1859: "When confined to the 'ucer' [hut] by bad weather, they amuse themselves by throwing burning sticks at each other" /cited in English/ (VP:VII,10;1860).

857 Another way of amusing themselves seems strange at first, but is explained by the fact that boys are not permitted to wear real

/763 cont./

857 masks of bark, ajyūšu hīlix, as they are used at the kīna festival. As a substitute, they disfigure and distort their faces. They stretch open their eyelids by pressing a small bent stick against the upper and lower edge of the bony eye-sockets. Furthermore, they put one end of another pair of little sticks against the inside of the nostrils and the other end against the inner wall of the lower lip. Finally, they also paint their faces with all kinds of patterns in white, black, and red. Disfigured in this fashion, they swarm all over the camp and creep up on an unsuspecting child to terrify it.

We see that lively boys do not lack all kinds of fun and a variety of entertainment while their parents are camping in one spot and when favorable weather permits them to roam about freely. They are outside a great deal even in heavy rain and thick snow; they like to stretch their legs in vigorous exercise.

β. Girls' Play

857 157 Whether or not one judges by European standards, he must admit that, in contrast to the always lively boys, Fuegian girls display an extraordinarily quiet manner. Among adults, too, the woman, in contrast to the man, keeps herself very modestly and submissively in the background. Hence girls are probably born with their unobtrusive nature, having inherited it from their mothers. In reality they are reserved and almost timid; they seldom shout loudly, and only occasionally, when they are far away from the huts, do they engage in noisy fun. They are by no means lacking in liveliness, but it does not show unless they are among themselves and not being watched by adults. They can even be audacious and decide on mad pranks that would be appropriate for vigorous boys. They are by far more courageous and unafraid than European girls of the same age.

857 868 Circumstances are such that girls far more than boys have to perform small services in the family. When the mother leaves the hut for a while, perhaps to go fishing or to gather wood, they must often tend their brothers and sisters who are no longer babies. This does /764/ not rob them of their freedom, but merely puts a

/764 cont./

857 868 little restraint on them. They are not too serious about taking care of their brothers or sisters in any case. They do, however, like to hoist a younger brother or sister on their backs and drag him around everywhere for hours; they evidently do not find it taxing or tiring. Moreover, they must perform all kinds of work for the mother in the hut, such as tending the fire, fetching kindling, arranging the sleeping places, helping to clean and stretch skins, taking all kinds of implements from the canoe to the hut, and helping to load the canoe. Naturally they also often accompany women who are going out to hunt for berries, pick fungi, and gather mussels. From their own observations, implemented by some instruction, they become acquainted with all the kinds of manual work that the women must do, namely, dressing skins, weaving baskets, making little ornamental strings, catching fish, and servicing the canoe (198).

198. Bridges (a):183 also conceded: "Girls are early taught to make baskets, plait fish-lines and 'asina' (an ornamental fine plait of sinew worn on the neck), to paddle, and to do other work" /cited in English/. Elsewhere Bridges (i):22 and (h):208 repeats that girls amuse themselves "in threading berries as necklaces, paddling in the canoes, making reed baskets, or in attempts at painting faces, etc." /cited in English/.

Actual practice, such as is required of boys, is not spared the girls altogether, inasmuch as they must demonstrate to their mother or a woman neighbor their ability to do this or that work until they have acquired a certain dexterity.

857 [301] When the girl is alone or with only a few sisters, she likes to make all kinds of ornaments. When she has reached a certain age, she makes herself a few necklaces and anklets as a matter of course. It gives her great pleasure to wind and braid the tendons or string on them the smallest pieces of bone and berries. If several girls are gogether, they paint their faces with all kinds of patterns and try to outdo each other in the careful execution of this ornamentation.

/764 cont./

524 857 On most days, if the girl is not needed by her mother, she is left to her own resources. She spends these hours among her playthings. Chiefly she takes up her doll, which is extraordinarily simple and hardly deserves the name, quite in contrast to the not unattractive article that makes the Selk'nam girls happy (Vol. I, 395). A cylindrical-shaped stone the size of one's fist or a short rounded piece of wood without any finish or ornament suffices for this yĕkaxḗǫla. The girl treasures, cherishes, carries, and treats her little doll exactly the way a European girl does; sometimes she even talks to it.

The child is not supposed to play with this yĕkaxḗǫla too long, and the adults soon warn her out of superstitious fear. For example, the father will say /765/ to his daughter: "If you fondle and 573 care for this stone much longer it might turn into a Sínuluwatauinéiwa!" The latter is a person of stone in a myth told by our Yamana. Intimidated and frightened, the girl will throw the stone away and choose another as her yĕkaxḗǫla, or the stuffed skin of a small bird or of a young otter. They remove the skin of these animals in one piece by turning it inside out after making a short incision in the belly. Then they stuff it tightly with dried grass or rush stalks and sew it up. With touching tenderness the girl ceaselessly runs her hand up and down it, caressing the soft otter pelt.

The child also obtains a doll in another way. She takes the carcass of an adult bird, usually a wild goose or a cormorant, cuts the skin all the way round at about the center of the bird, strips it off, dries it, fills it with dry grass, and sews up the large openings. In this way the head, neck, and breast take on their natural shapes.

857 231 In imitation of some of the women, many girls constantly go after young animals, usually a newly hatched bird. They care for it and feed it with the most loving concern, play with it, and sometimes caress it rather wildly so that the tight grip or constant tugging causes the animal pain. They take it along with them on their almost daily trips and care for it until it is ready to fly. It is not customary to clip its wings in order to keep it from flying away. If only for the sake of variety, they let the animal fly as soon as it can. For this purpose they most often choose a wild goose, a wild duck, the laughing gull, kiwā́gu (Larus dominicanus),

/765 cont./

857 231 and the brown robber gull, wilaúla (Megalestris skua chilensis); cormorants and penguins, which are too dirty, are less desirable. After the girls have become fond of such a bird in the course of a few weeks, they do not have the heart to kill it even if it would make a succulent roast. If one day it flies off, they follow it enthusiastically with their eyes and send good wishes after it.

857 868 501 As is well known, the bark canoe belongs entirely to the woman (p. 135). For very obvious reasons the father makes a small model of it for his daughter. It is like a larger canoe in every detail and is large enough for a single girl to sit in and row about. On my second journey I noticed a seven-year-old girl in Puerto Robalo who was extraordinarily skillful in managing her vessel which was 145 centimeters long. Her father had previously given her a smaller canoe. It was a charming sight when one sunny day toward noon the mother set out in her boat and was accompanied by this daughter. Each of them steered her boat into a tangle of large brown algae /766/ and they began to fish. After three hours they returned to the landing place and the girl, too, had a few pieces of booty, to the delight of her father. More often a father will give his daughter a small paddle with which she strikes the water while standing on the shore.

857 If one sums up what a solitary girl has in the way of entertainment and play, diversion, and minor manipulations, it is clear that she is not condemned to boredom and that, on the contrary, many a day will be too short for her if she has become absorbed in her play. If several children are together in the same place, they choose other forms of entertainment.

γ. Social Games

857 The designation "social games" does not precisely fit all the forms of diversion which are listed here; all I wish to express is that several children come together in them. Adults often take part in these games, but children are always in the majority.

857 231 By way of introduction it should be said that a tame, patient dog is used by boys, as well as girls, for all kinds of jests and mad pranks. It sometimes seemed impossible to me that such an animal would take so much from foolhardy boys! They tug him around

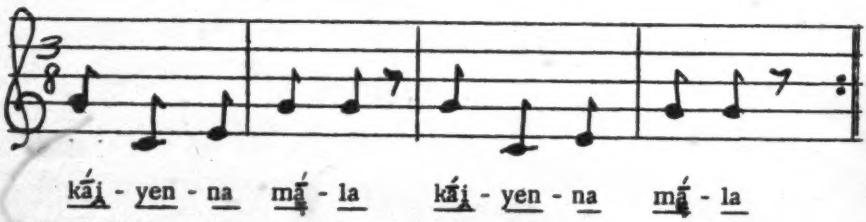
/766 cont./

857 231 and push him, tease and provoke him, tie his legs together, load him down with all kinds of things, duck him in the water, imprison him in a hollow tree trunk stuff indigestible things into his mouth, and daub him with paint; in short, they try out the craziest notions on him. The rude handling and the sudden bursts of laughter of the children frighten the dog, but although he growls and barks, he does not have the heart to bite. This is perhaps the same animal from whose furious attacks a European can sometimes scarcely defend himself (p. 296). No matter how wildly children treat a dog, their parents do not scold them for it. Occasionally, however, a child will play very affably and affectionately with one. They all treat young animals with particular tenderness.

857 524 Like the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 395), Yamana children of both sexes amuse themselves with a regular swing. A strong rope suffices, of the kind, for example, used in the large harpoon. Its ends are tied to a high branch, so that the middle part hangs down about half a meter above the ground. A child sits down on it, without using a special seat, and hangs on with both hands; another child starts it swinging by giving it a push. The little ones swing for hours until bad weather drives them into the hut (199).

199. Fitz-Roy (a):186 mentioned the swing: "Swinging between branches of trees, as our children do, is also a favourite pastime, the ropes being made of strips of sealskin" /cited in English/.

[33] Usually they endlessly repeat the five-syllable word kaiyennamāla in the following rhythm: /767/



/767 cont./

857 524 The child who pushes the swing gives it enough force and speaks quickly enough so that the word ends at the moment the swing comes back to him. Sometimes parents fasten this simple swing inside their dwelling if the framework is strong enough.

The actual social games are played only when several families are assembled. No less important is a suitable combination of people, among whom there must be at least one who livens up the others and who makes the children enthusiastic. Nowadays the Yamana constitute only a very small group which scarcely ever comes together in one place; the number of children is extraordinarily small. Hence it is no wonder that they almost never play the games which were formerly very popular. The following probably represents a complete list of their group games.

Tĕlayémače: The game known by this name in the western dialect and known as talajámaša in the central dialect is exactly like the popular European "blindman's buff." Many people stand in a circle, both children and adults. Someone must let himself be blindfolded and placed inside the circle. The others stay more or less in a circle, but change places very quietly and repeatedly. Meanwhile the former goes around, touches a person, feels him all over, and says his name. If he has guessed right, the slight tension is relaxed, and amid lively talk all around, these two exchange places. Usually the "blind man" is mistaken, and the more often he blunders, because one person or another eludes his groping search, the livelier are the participation and jolly laughter of the others.

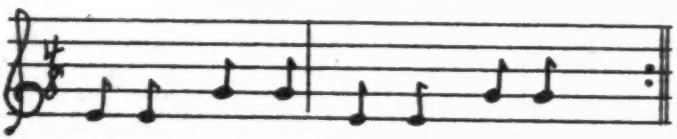
857 524 522 There are often amusing surprises. On the evening of January 16, 1922, about 20 persons were lined up to play tĕlayémače. Even the oldest women, such as Paine, Emilia, and Mary, took part with animated gaiety. When it was the latter's turn to be the "blind man," she gropingly ran into her own husband and touched him all over without recognizing him. He dexterously slipped out of his coat and left her holding it as he leaped away. Then there was such tremendous laughter that the game was interrupted for many minutes. A "blind man" must keep on searching until he guesses the name of the person he catches.

857 524 Tumutélla: Boys chiefly play this game, girls less often, and adults still less. They use a wide, gently sloping grassy area or lie

/767 cont./

857 534 down at the top of an incline, their bodies stretched out lengthwise and their arms pressed tight to their sides. They lie on the same plane, that is, in a row, not above or below one another. At a signal everyone gives himself a little push and they all roll down. They try to keep the axis of their bodies exactly crosswise to the direction of movement, but inevitably /768/ this orientation cannot be maintained, and then several of them collide or roll over each other. The participants enjoy this entertainment all by themselves, whether or not there are other people watching. It is all the more fun, of course, if there are a lot of children, if they let themselves roll down fast and if they are very animated. BD:229 mentions dala, dula, "to roll, fall as a barrel down a bank" /cited in English/.

Čenalóra: Girls and women like this game, but they also let young men and boys play; the latter sometimes play it by themselves. They stand in a row. A particularly fat person forms the beginning and the others line up behind him, the bulkier ones nearer the front, the medium-sized ones farther back, and the thin ones at the end. They all squat down, but without touching the ground with their buttocks. Everyone puts his arms around the chest of the person in front of him, and they all push up close against each other. The leader supports himself with both fists on the ground. Then the closed rank slowly begins to move straight forward, all of them simultaneously dragging first the right and then the left foot forward, at the same time rocking from left to right. The column is sometimes several meters long and even crosses puddles, for it is imitating the movement of the canoe on the waves. For this reason the game is called ananlúra, "a boat rocks on the water" (ánan, the canoe; lúra from lurtélli, "to wabble, roll as a crank canoe from side to side," /cited in English/ according to BD:285). They all sing in time to the movements of their bodies: [533]



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After two syllables the whole column quickly bends to the other side. Gradually the movement is accelerated up to top speed, which arouses great merriment. When the column breaks up at the end, they all roll around happily in the grass (200).

200. BD:265 mentions hannaluara, "a game in which this word is intoned and regulates the rate of swaying the body" /cited in English/. This undoubtedly refers to the game described above.

Wajyandēlla: This game is almost like čenalóra. Here,too, the players form a long row, but they do not embrace each other; instead, each person places his hands on the shoulders of the one squatting in front of him. This means that the column is by no means as closely locked as in čenalóra and hence does not sway as far to one side. The word wajyandēlla is repeated along with the rhythmic body movements as follows:

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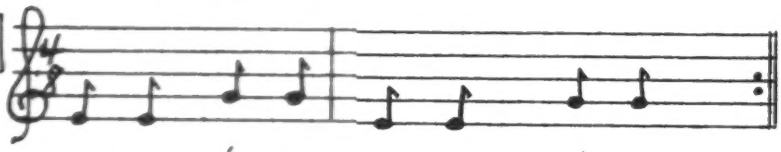

/769/ Just as this word formation can be broken down into wājyana, the bow, and dāla, dūla, "to roll, fall as a barrel down a bank" /cited in English/, according to BD:229, so the game is intended to imitate the swaying of a bowstave whose two ends are grasped with the hands. Toward the end of this game the swaying back and forth of the body is accelerated.

Hājyekaša: This is entertainment chiefly for boys and men. They form a column, standing one behind the other, headed by the largest one. Each of them bends his knee and lifts his leg up and back, holding it at the ankle with the hand on the corresponding side of the body. It is hard to keep one's balance in this position. The whole column then hops backwards, without turning around, to the following rhythm:

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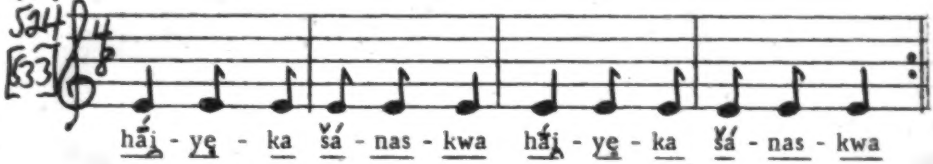

The free foot touches the ground on the first, third, and fifth syllable. It is too tiring for the dancers to keep up the song to the end. Hence the onlookers continue it and after a time accelerate it to such an extent that the dancers can no longer follow. The column disintegrates in utter confusion. Sometimes the column is allowed to extend a considerable distance from the spectators while the latter sing softer and softer as though the column were losing itself in the far distance. This game is very popular during the čiẽxaus festival because it is quiet.

Halẽ'kuku: This game is restricted almost entirely to males. The boys and men who play it form a rather long column with a short space between each person. All of them uniformly lift either their right or left leg, stretch it out horizontally, and grasp the knee with both hands. They hop in a straight line toward a certain goal, turn here in an arc, and hop back to the starting point. This movement is strenuous, and occasionally a chap will drop the outstretched leg if his other one will no longer carry him. The participants and spectators constantly repeat the word

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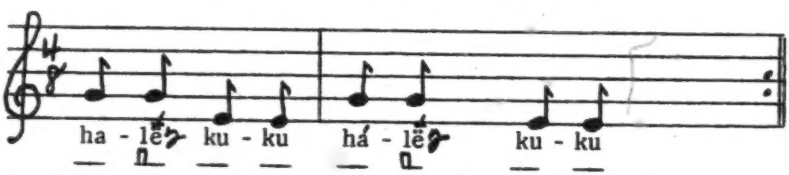

in such a way that with each second syllable the foot touches the ground.

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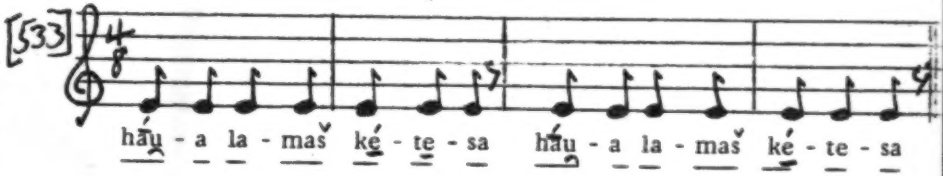
Kaklẽxana: This is a sort of hopping race that children are encouraged to do. Sometimes adults take part. Everyone lifts one leg from the ground in unison, /770/ either the right or left. They let their arms hang down freely. They either form a column and move very far from the starting point, most of them dropping out from exhaustion before they reach the goal, or a few form a diagonal row and hasten toward a goal from which they must immediately

/770 cont./

526 return to the starting point. The one who gets back first without
857 having fallen on his other foot is the winner. The candidates in the ciexaus were most often allowed to refresh themselves somewhat with this game.

857 Háualamaškétesa: This is a ring game played by girls and
534 women, to which boys are sometimes admitted. They form a circle and hold hands. A man or woman, less often a child, places himself in the center. Then the circle moves, first in one direction, then in another, with growing speed; it finally becomes a fast whirl. The person inside becomes almost dizzy. After several rotations top speed has been reached, and the players themselves lose their balance. Suddenly their circle disintegrates when they all drop hands, and everyone makes a complete turn wherever he happens to be standing and thereupon falls to the ground. During the first few rotations the entire circle squats down at brief intervals and gets up again as fast as lightning, but after the rotation become faster this is omitted. Meanwhile they uninterruptedly and with increasing speed repeat:



The word háualamaškétesa (201) comes from the western dialect.

201. In BD:272 we find: " 'hoalõmösköta,' a senseless childish play in which this word was intoned" /cited in English/.

The same game is called tukusetewánasa (202) in the southern

202. BD:474 gives: " 'tukusatuwána,' a game and to play this game in which the players go rapidly round in circles more or fewer forming the circle till they get giddy and fall" /cited in English/.

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857 524 dialect; both have the same number of syllables.

Kaašéte: This game shows many similarities to hấyalamaškétesa. Women and girls form a circle, put their arms around the necks of their neighbors on either side, and draw their bodies close together. A man or boy, sometimes a woman, stands in the center. As the circle slowly moves, the person in the center, holding his arms tight to his sides, tries to push between two women. As he makes an effort to do so, the women or girls draw still closer together, and despite great dexterity he usually does not succeed in breaking the circle. Only after he has made several attempts at different places do the victorious players voluntarily open up an escape for the helpless one. In case a chap succeeds /771/ in breaking through, one of the two girls between whom he escaped must usually step inside the circle. Some other chap, however, may be called upon to enter it. As the circle slowly moves, they repeat the following in a perfectly uniform and moderately fast rhythm:

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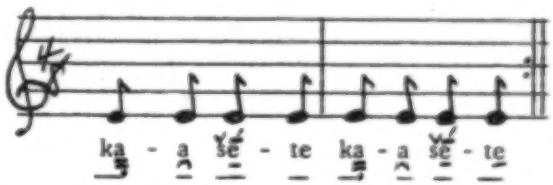
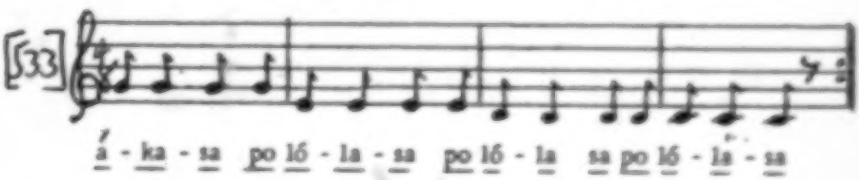

This is frequently interrupted because certain parts of the circle, amid much laughter, push close together against the imprisoned man's attempts at escape. At variance with this, BD:203 gives " 'kaašēata, ' a certain kind of game when those who play join in a long line by putting their arms over each other's shoulders and sweep forward and veer about singing" /cited in English/.

Málaštaxấjnasa: Girls primarily arrange this game. They line up side by side in a row, and each one places her hands behind the necks and on the shoulders of her neighbors. Hence they are close together. Facing forward, they advance a few short steps, meanwhile swaying in unison to the right and left. After they have gone a certain distance on level ground, the whole row turns and goes back to the starting point. Slowly moving back and forth, they ceaselessly repeat the word:

/771 cont./

While they sing the first half of this word, that is, the first three syllables, they bend toward the right, whereas with the last three syllables they bend toward the left; at the same time they also change the step.

Akasapolólasa: This game is very similar to the preceding one and is played mostly by girls. Just as in málaštaxájnasa, they form a row side by side and face forward. The row does not move forward, however, but first to one side and then to the other. Thus, their feet step sideways. While all the participants uninterruptedly and in moderate tempo repeat the long word

they bend the upper part of their bodies in unison and in rhythm with their steps from the one side to the other.

/772/ As we have said, social games are played only when several families are together and in a good mood. Once they have started, however, one game usually follows another until every one is tired or until the dark night and the rain drives them into their huts. They thoroughly refresh themselves spiritually in this way and thereafter disperse in all directions until a lucky star once more brings them together. The Yamana have a few other games, of which kálaka, a game with a ball, is the most popular. These games are played only by adults; hence a description of them is postponed for a later section on general entertainment. /Fig. 80 appears here./

857 We should refer here to a few minor pranks for which boys are always in the mood when they meet girls who are strangers or whom they might meet again. To have a little fun at their expense is, after all, a boy's nature, and the little Yamana do not

1: Gunnde--593 8-5 (1918-1924) 1937 SH6 Tahgan SH6

/772 cont./

lack this thoroughly wholesome, unspoiled characteristic. Since they stay within the limits of fun, the adults do not stop them. Thus, in winter, they throw a snowball at a passing girl from some hiding place and enjoy the greatest satisfaction over not being discovered. On another occasion they will hurl a stone from the sling to the ground or into the water beside an unsuspecting girl, only to frighten her. If several girls are sitting together, some boys will stealthily strip off a handful of small Cytturia harioti fungi and from their hiding place toss them against the heads of the girls until the latter leave the vicinity of their tormenters.

Another time bolder rascals will provide themselves with a quantity of the short, thumb-length thallus buds of pé'ti, a small brown alga (Adenocystis utricularis). These plants are found in masses on the stones of the shore and are filled with water (Fig. 80). They can be easily removed from the thallus by pressure with the thumb nail, at this point the plant structure is less resistant. As though each thallus bud were an elongated bubble, it is grasped between thumb and forefinger and pressed gently, whereupon the water filling it shoots out in a fine, far-reaching spray, as though from a small squirt. This is the way the fellows tease the girls whose affection they would like to win, while they squirt particularly heavily the girls they want to annoy. Of course the boys also squirt each other with the pé'ti.

Fig. 80. Brown Alga, Adenocystis utricularis. Two-thirds natural size.

/773/ With these and similar harmless pranks the two sexes become sufficiently well acquainted; it would be a disadvantage for their spiritual development if they were always kept absolutely isolated from one another. Whenever the children of different families chance to meet, they immediately begin their social

/773 cont./

857 games spontaneously and need not be told to do so by the adults. If the latter take part in them, they have a stimulating effect on the young people.

5. Mutual Relationship of Parents and Children

593 Anyone who only superficially observes the Yamana will probably be aware of the loving affection and solicitous care that every pair of parents bestows on their infant, whereas mature children seem to be a little aloof from their parents. This is an illusion. There is something in it, however, since young people show great respect for all adults, especially their own parents. We can probably say that the little Fuegians are born with this charming virtue, and if it should be deficient or lacking, it is taught and fostered by the child's teachers. The latter, as we know (p. 514), keep their expressions of love within narrow limits and in everyday life never smother a grown child with affection. Not that the Yamana have no feeling for him -- they outdo themselves in loving service for a sick child -- but because they are much too reasonable and sensible to expend themselves in too many externals, for this would gradually make the child indifferent. A love that is genuine and willing to make sacrifices does live in the hearts of the parents, however, and expresses itself in their efforts for the child's spiritual and physical welfare. This is for them a matter of duty, to which they devote themselves in all seriousness. The child knows this and experiences it often. Hence he cannot be otherwise than respectful toward his parents who are far superior to him in maturity of judgment, general experience, and knowledge of tribal customs.

Due to this conviction and his inner restraint, the child is submissive and docile; he gives unqualified obedience and shows that he is very willing. Those children know nothing about grumbling at orders and pulling a long face at disagreeable errands. Defiant stubbornness and loud contradictions are unheard-of in Tierra del Fuego. Every child knows that he must submit to the orders of adults, and children do this even after they are married (203).

203. Hyades (p):332 said several times that

2: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 S315 Yahgan S315

517 A great deal of *Yahgan* recreation was incidental to the initiation and other rites and through the feasting and social activities that accompanied set events such as marriages, or chance meetings of families at camps, or larger gatherings of longer duration occasioned by treasure trove in the shape of stranded whale. In connection with some of even the more solemn rites there were intervals of free play releasing tensions developed during the more serious phases of the rites.

296 [273] Narcotics were totally lacking. No alcoholic or other intoxicating beverages were made or used by the *Yahgan* before their contact with the Whites. Nor was tobacco grown or in any form used.

531 Art.—There was no form of sculpture or of carving in wood. The only designs, if they can be called such, were the lines, dots, and circles used in face and body painting and in the ornamentation of lodges and paraphernalia in connection with the major rites (fig. 14). There was a certain crude artistry in bodily decorations and in the personal adornments referred to elsewhere in the present paper.

All in all, there are few if any peoples in the world that possessed a more rudimentary esthetic development than the *Yahgan* and their neighbors, the *Alacaluf* and *Ona*.

526 Games and sports.—There was no gambling, no games with elaborate rules, no team games unless group wrestling could be called such, and no competitive games except wrestling.

524 [857] Boys practiced with the spear, bow and arrow, and sling, and at stone throwing, but this was as much vocational as recreative activity. There were certain quite simple children's play activities, such as swinging, rolling down hillocks, endurance hopping on one foot, and group play such as tenalére, in which boys and girls crouched in a line one behind the other, sang together a melody in which the meaningless word "tenalére" was repeated, and slowly danced rocking back and forth in imitation of a canoe making its way forward through the waves. Songs sung on one long meaningless word were common accompaniments of children's group play.

[533] [481] All the women could swim; the men could not. Recreative swimming was rarely indulged in.

524 Adults' games, in some of which the children could participate, were equally simple. Such were: blindman's-buff, hopping and singing at the same time, throwing small burning sticks in the air, standing in a circle through which "it" in the middle tried to break. The ball game was popular: A ball made of seal gut stuffed with feathers or grass was kept in the air by the players with strokes from the palm of the hand. Men and women might play the ball game together.

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3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
5366 Yahgan 5365

Among the Yahgan, marriage by capture seems to have been less common than among the Ona. A woman given in marriage by her father against her will soon abandoned the undesired husband. In fact the Yahgan showed a tendency to change husbands and wives not infrequently, which we may term progressive polygamy. According to Rev. Thomas Bridges (1884, p. 206) a man might have from one to four wives at a time, but the number was not fixed by custom.

Infidelity resulted in no fixed form of punishment, but both the offending man and woman were apt to be beaten. Shortly before our arrival a Yahgan man had disappeared. It was rumored that his wife, enraged at his amours, had beaten him with a paddle and accidentally killed him.

Children

In the old days, to judge by the number of deserted orphans set down in the mission records, the Yahgan did not greatly devote themselves to the care of the children. Abortion seems to have been a common practice, and infanticide we judge was not rare. To reach the facts is somewhat difficult because early explorers did not have sufficient knowledge to describe such practices, and the mission contact soon put an end to them or drove them under cover.

Soon after birth had taken place the Yahgan mother bathed in the sea and the new-born child was also immersed in order to toughen it. This was a rather terrible ordeal for an infant, for the sea temperatures of winter and summer range from 40° to 50° Fahrenheit, while the air at best could be described as no warmer than temperate. We have no figures to show what mortality this custom entailed, yet cannot but believe that soon after birth all but the most vigorous and robust infants were thus ruthlessly eliminated.

After delivery, not only the mother but the father as well was expected to rest for a week or more. In this custom we see incipient couvade.

Games and Amusements

The Yahgan to pass the time indulged in various simple games and in singing and dancing. Of necessity the young boys devoted much care and time to practice with spear, bow and arrow, sling and stones; but while these exercises often assumed the form of

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
S306 Yahgan S05

sport, the practical aspect of gaining a livelihood and a desire to imitate the grown men must have been the underlying motive. Wrestling was not uncommon, and was an extremely rough sport, so much so indeed that death sometimes ensued. Rev. Thomas Bridges (1884, p. 179) recognizes two types of wrestling: one between individuals known as *kekiáka*, another between two groups known as *ongácas*.

Of the simpler amusements the children had several of the "follow-my-leader" type, they used a swing, they had a simple ball game like the Ona, and they painted themselves in the style of their elders and inserted short sticks in their lips, nostrils, and eyelids. Games of these kinds have been studied by Koppers (1924).

Of Yahgan songs Mr. Bridges (*op. cit.*, p. 177) recognizes several varieties. The first group, called *loima*, are songs of blood revenge; another type, called *ridemia*, are songs of mourning; the *crau* songs are peculiar to the medicine-men; finally there are songs called *jeen* which are sung by everybody. This last class are usually mythological in subject matter. The same authority says that the dances are called *sona*. People may dance alone, in couples, or in groups, and in a circle holding hands or in line.

The Yahgan had no foot-racing or water sports of any kind.

Feuds

In general the Yahgan were not an amicable people, according to most accounts. When two groups camped together trouble usually arose, and the weaker group moved away. This as well as the food quest accounts for their frequent changes of residence. Sometimes a fight might start between two individuals and then all their friends and relatives joined, probably in an endeavor to stop the encounter but sometimes to aid their man. Clubs, paddles, spears, slings, and stones were the weapons used. General edition, however, can not have been common, for Rev. Thomas Bridges expresses the statement[1] that in the thirteen years between 1871 and 1884 only twenty-two murders had taken place. I have no figures for the Ona, but killings must have been much more frequent among them than among the Yahgan.

The causes of quarrels among the Yahgan were such as are found among all primitive tribes, namely, insult, theft, adultery, and the

[1] In *South American Missionary Magazine*, London, 1886, p. 256.